

Somehow there is a disconnect between what we are saying in Washington and what we are doing. If we want the return of jobs, growth and opportunity—if we want to restore the kind of opportunity that was routinely available to America when the Presiding Officer of the Senate was growing up and when I was growing up—we are going to have to change the way we do business.

We are going to have to spend less of the taxpayers' money in Washington, so that the taxpayer can keep it, so the taxpayer and the taxpayer's family can spend it, so that they can invest it in their future and, therefore, America's future. That is the difference between the Clinton vision and the vision of Republican Members of the House and the Senate.

I yield the floor, and I thank my colleague. I want to apologize to him. During the speech of our colleague, Senator GORTON, I had walked into the anteroom, and he did not see me here on the floor. I am sorry for the inconvenience.

Mr. SPECTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank my colleague from Texas for those comments. We try on the floor to respect those who have arrived earlier. I had not known that the distinguished Senator from Texas had been awaiting recognition. I walked in; he was not on the floor. But I learned a little by listening to Senator GRAMM, which I do when I listen to Senator GRAMM. I have had occasion to listen to Senator GRAMM a great deal over the past year and have learned from the Senator over the course of the last year in other activities I have undertaken.

THE OMNIBUS APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. SPECTER. I have sought recognition, Mr. President, to express my chagrin and disappointment that we are apparently not going to have an omnibus appropriations bill, but later today are going to proceed with another continuing resolution. Perhaps it is appropriate on April 1, on April Fool's Day, that Washington, DC, again looks like a collective group of April fools unable to pass a budget, and on April Fool's Day unable to finish the business of the preceding year, 1995.

Within the past hour I have come from the conference of the House and Senate where very strenuous efforts have been made for the past several days to find a compromise on appropriations.

I have the honor to chair the Senate Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services. Perhaps I use the wrong word when I say it is an "honor." It has been really an embarrassment that we have not been able to bring a bill, the legislation, to fruition for funding which should have been in place by last October 1. But that bill

has been tied up for a variety of reasons, with equal blame apportioned on both sides of the aisle, while we have been in gridlock on a number of matters.

For many, many weeks I have been pressing very hard to try to get the matter resolved, have been working with Chief of Staff Leon Panetta to find offsets, have scheduled a series of hearings with the Secretaries of the three Departments—Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education—and we finally brought the bill to the Senate floor and finally got it passed by a very substantial number, 79 to 21.

The key part of that bill was a bipartisan amendment worked out by the distinguished Senator from Iowa, Senator HARKIN, and myself, Senator HARKIN being the ranking member of the committee. We passed that amendment 84 to 16. During about 20 hours of conferencing, Mr. President, I think we had been able to finally thread the needle to find a bill which would probably have been signed by the President and which was acceptable to the House of Representatives.

That is pretty hard to do in Washington, DC, today. There is considerably more flexibility in the U.S. Senate in trying to arrive at accommodation. We passed the bill which had the amendment which Senator HARKIN and I had constructed and fashioned, which added \$2.7 billion to some very important functions, to education, worker safety, and to health and human services.

Notwithstanding that addition, the President had sent word that he wanted some \$484 million more. Well, we were at the break point with the bill which we conferred with the House of Representatives when we had called for \$2.7 billion more in spending.

Let me point out that that \$2.7 billion was endorsed by both leaders, Senator DOLE and Senator DASCHLE, 37 out of the 53 Republicans voted for the amendment, 37 Republicans voted for it and 16 voted against it, more than two-thirds of our Republican body voted for it, which is a very, very strong showing, given the constituency of our Senate caucus, and the amendment received all of the 47 Democratic votes. So, when we went to conference with this bill I thought, Senator HARKIN thought, Senator HATFIELD thought, that we were within range to have it signed by the President. We were not sure, but we thought we were within that range.

We also constructed the bill so that it would be agreed to by our House colleagues. We were not sure about that either. It was very, very tough on negotiations. Finally, the House Labor, Health and Human Services conferees approved the bill by a vote of 6 to 5. You cannot get any closer than 6 to 5. But what we were veritably doing is running between the raindrops in a hurricane to find something which would satisfy our House colleagues and something which might be signed by the President.

Regrettably, that is all for naught or mostly all for naught—mostly for naught or probably for naught—because when we do not get the bill and have a 3-week hiatus, it all unravels.

Senator Baker was the majority leader when I first came to this body. I learned a great deal from Senator Baker. One of his famous statements—we were here at 11:30 one night. We were on the finance bill. There were 63 amendments pending. Senator Baker said, "We're going to proceed and finish this bill because amendments, like mushrooms, grow overnight." We stayed through until 6:30 in the morning. We had some accepted. We had half a dozen votes. Many dropped by the wayside. We finished the bill.

The dynamism in the U.S. Senate and the House is, if you do not push to get it through, it all unravels. We were on the verge of getting it through. I compliment our distinguished colleague, Senator HATFIELD, for his prodigious work in shepherding this matter through and would note his consternation and amazement when he heard last night that we were going to have a continuing resolution. That was not known by the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, who was chairing the conference.

I think it is very regrettable because, if we were going to have the time to present this bill on the floor today, or perhaps tomorrow—it would not be unheard of or out of line for us to work on a Saturday, even if it would mean a day less of the recess. That has happened before.

These matters just do not coalesce until the very last minute. If there is more time for argument, more time for discussion, and more time for disagreement, when we finally work it out, it is an accommodation and a compromise. Nobody is really happy, and if you have more time to argue it some more, you expected to be in session last night until past midnight and then again today.

With that pressure on, we were on the verge of having an omnibus appropriations bill, which I think would have concluded the matter. It is with considerable chagrin and considerable disappointment, speaking for myself, that we are not finishing. I think it is with considerable chagrin and considerable disappointment that the American people are watching the process and seeing April 1 come and seeing a bunch of "April fools" in Washington, DC, at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, unable to get the matter done. There is a responsibility in both Houses, a bicameral responsibility, and a responsibility on both sides of the aisle—Republicans and Democrats are equally at fault—and responsibility at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, because there is no easy compromise and no meeting of the minds without an elaborate, inordinate thrashing process where the White House always wants more and some here always want less. We are on the verge of getting it done.

I think it is very regrettable we did not conclude it.

Mr. President, when we added the \$2.7 billion included in the Specter-Harkin amendment, we were able to add to some very, very important programs on education—that is a priority, second to none—and important matters on worker safety, important matters on Health and Human Services.

I know my distinguished colleague from Rhode Island is on the floor waiting to speak, and I will not go through the detail which I would have. Sometimes on Friday afternoon at 1:30 there is nobody seeking recognition on the floor. Instead, I will have printed in the

RECORD this chart which shows a comparison, a transition, as to where the appropriations process had been, how we made the additions, how we came to the accommodations and compromises, and finish within \$20 million, which is a small fraction of the \$2.7 billion, we came in \$20 million under the \$2.7 billion, and actually only \$14 million, because a \$6 million addition was added by Congresswoman PELOSI on an education program, which I thought was fine.

So we did the job. Regrettably, it is not altogether finished. Hopefully, a good part of this work will last, and we

will be able to build on this when we come back, to finish this omnibus appropriations bill.

There are a few outstanding matters on language and a few other outstanding issues, but I think they would have been resolved fairly quickly had the pressure been maintained to finish this, without the talk of a continuing resolution.

I ask unanimous consent that this chart be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

	Fiscal year 1995	House	Specter/Harkin floor amend.	Senate	Conference, proposal, 3/27/96	Conference 3/27/96 vs. Senate	Conference, proposal, 3/28/96	Conference 3/28/96 vs. Senate
Labor:								
School to Work	\$122,500	\$95,000	\$91,000	\$186,000	170,000	(16,000)	170,000	(16,000)
Dislocated Workers	1,228,550	867,000	333,000	1,200,000	1,100,000	(100,000)	1,100,000	(100,000)
One-Stop Career Ctrs.	100,000	125,000	18,000	130,000	635,000	0	625,000	(10,000)
Summer Youth Jobs	867,000	0	635,000	900,000	850,000	(50,000)	850,000	(50,000)
Adult Training	996,813	830,000	154,300	289,000	289,000	0	289,000	0
OSHA	311,660							
Total, Labor	3,626,523	1,917,000	1,231,300	3,320,300	3,044,000	(166,000)	3,034,000	(176,000)
HHS:								
HRSA:								
Consolidated Health Centers	756,518	756,518		759,623	759,623		759,623	0
Natl Health Service Corps	120,185	120,185		115,000	115,000	0	115,000	0
Health Professions	278,977	278,977		235,669	260,162	24,493	260,162	24,493
Pediatric Emergency	10,000	10,000		10,500	11,000	500	11,000	500
Ryan White, Title II	198,147	250,147		198,147	250,147	52,000	250,147	52,000
Health Care Facilities	10,000	10,000		10,000	20,000	10,000	20,000	10,000
SAMHSA	2,180,668	1,883,715		1,800,469	1,859,146	58,677	1,859,146	58,677
AHCPR	135,290	94,186		65,390	94,186	28,796	94,186	28,796
HCFA Medicare Contractors	1,604,171	1,604,171		1,584,767	1,604,171	19,404	1,604,171	19,404
ACF:								
Head Start	3,534,129	3,397,429	136,700	3,534,129	3,570,129	36,000	3,570,129	36,000
Social Services BG	2,800,000	2,520,000		2,310,000	2,420,000	110,000	2,311,000	1,000
Child Welfare Services	291,989	277,389		268,629	277,389	8,760	277,389	8,760
Admin. on Aging:								
AOA Research	25,630	0		4,991	2,850	(2,141)	2,850	(2,141)
HHS Office of the Secretary:								
HHS Gen'l Dept. Mgt.	88,150	96,439		96,439	98,439	2,000	98,439	2,000
Office of Minority Health	0	27,000		20,000	27,000	7,000	27,000	7,000
Inspector General	89,456	73,956		79,162	79,162	0	79,162	0
Total, HHS	12,123,310	11,401,112	136,700	11,092,915	11,448,404	355,489	11,339,404	246,489
Education:								
Goals 2000	371,870	362,000	60,000	350,000	350,000	0	350,000	0
Title I (Total)	7,228,116	7,010,113	814,489	7,328,000	7,228,116	(99,884)	7,228,116	99,884
Basic Grants	(5,968,235)	(5,405,895)	(700,228)	(5,960,089)	(5,792,897)		(5,968,235)	
Concentration Grants	(663,137)	(1,044,945)	(114,261)	(805,459)	(905,459)		(663,137)	
BIA Set-Aside	(66,984)	(65,160)		(68,339)			(66,984)	
Drug Free Schools	465,981	200,000	200,000	400,000	366,000	(34,000)	400,000	0
School to Work	122,500	95,000	91,000	186,000	170,000	(16,000)	180,000	(6,000)
Charter Schools	6,000	8,000	8,000	16,000	16,000	0	18,000	2,000
Ed. Technology	22,500	25,000	10,000	35,000	48,000	13,000	48,000	13,000
Voc. Ed Basic Grants	972,750	890,000	82,750	972,750	953,105	(19,645)	972,750	0
Perkins Loans	158,000	0	58,000	158,000	75,000	(83,000)	93,297	(64,703)
SSIG	63,375	31,375	32,000	63,375	31,375	(32,000)	31,375	(32,000)
Impact Aid	728,000	693,000		691,159	693,000	1,841	693,000	1,841
Bilingual Education	206,700			150,000	167,000	17,000	175,000	25,000
Prison Literacy	5,100	4,346		5,100	4,723	(377)	4,723	(377)
Pell Grants	6,178,680	5,423,331		4,814,000			4,967,446	153,446
Max Grant		(2,440)		(2,500)			(2,470)	
Howard University	204,663	174,671		174,671	182,348	7,677	182,348	7,677
Ellender	3,000	0		2,760	1,500	(1,260)	1,500	(1,260)
Libraries	144,161	131,505		131,505	132,505	1,000	132,505	1,000
Total, Education	16,734,235	14,916,836	1,356,239	15,344,055	10,284,667	(245,388)	15,344,055	0
Related Agencies:								
Corp Natl Comm Service	214,624	196,270		201,294	198,393	(2,901)	198,393	(2,901)
Fed Med Conciliation Service	31,344	32,896		32,396	32,896	500	32,896	500
Social Security Admin	3,125,356	2,946,197		2,785,875	2,760,875	(25,000)	2,736,375	(49,500)
Railroad Retirement Board	90,816	90,816		89,094	89,955	861	89,955	861
Total, Related Agencies	3,462,140	3,266,179		3,108,659	3,082,119	(26,540)	3,057,619	(51,040)
Scorekeeping Adjust:								
1% Cap Perf. Awards	(30,500)			(30,500)	0	30,500	(30,500)	0
Direct Loans Admin				460,000			420,000	(40,000)
Totals	35,915,708	31,501,127	2,724,239	33,295,129	27,859,190	(51,939)	33,164,578	(20,551)

Mr. SPECTER. I yield the floor.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until the hour of 2 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

IN MEMORY OF DAVID PACKARD

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, 3 days ago in Palo Alto, CA, a very remarkable and truly great American died, David Packard. David Packard deserves ranking with the most innova-

tive and outstanding builders and manufacturers in our Nation's history.

He and his partner, Bill Hewlett, were the fathers of the electronic industry in Silicon Valley. Starting just 60 years ago, literally, in a garage, David Packard and Bill Hewlett began building an innovative audio oscillator